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INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM

This week will be devoted to an attempt to make clear some of the underlying principles and significant facts in Communist theory, tactics, and organization. The reason for this attempt should be clear to all of you. The primary threat to the security of the United States at present is world communism—with its focal point, its direction—centered in the USSR.

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I. The primary purposes of this lecture are as follows:

- A. To show that Marxism is the basis of both the theory and the practice of revolutionary socialism (that system which we now call Communism, but which originally was known as Socialism). (Quote on theory from CPUSA). —Marx—"Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."

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- B. To point out (and attempt to fill in the framework to a certain extent)—that Marxist theory consists primarily of four elements:
1. A system of philosophy (in the strict sense of the word)
  2. An economic theory.
  3. A theory of politics and the state.
  4. A revolutionary program—based upon and justified by the other three.
- C. To urge the necessity, in any attempt to understand the development, and significance of Marxist theory—of making an attempt to project yourselves back into the middle of the 19th century when Marx was doing his thinking. So doing, will bring some realization of the condition which formed the motivation of Marxist theory. The working class was undoubtedly being exploited and lived under miserable conditions; and, in general, had no means of protecting itself, either in political representation or in trade unions. In addition, a system of rather static theory had been set up to justify the existence of that exploitation and those degrading conditions (the so-called "classical economy"—based upon the concept of natural law)—a system that claimed nothing could be done to bring any change, that any attempts to do so were futile (Ricardo—McCullough—Malthus). Marx, although an intellectual, set himself up as a representative of that exploited class, and in so doing he brought forth a series of ideas which were representative of a struggle of that "class" (used in a very loose sense)—so he claimed, to better itself, and which, consequently, opposed or re-interpreted that static philosophic system

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with one which was dynamic and changing in character, which visualized the "inevitability of change" rather than the "impossibility of change".

In other words, Marx, instead of being a simple ivory tower sort of thinker on philosophical questions, was a thinker with a purpose—a "class" purpose—and the theories which resulted from his thinking are unquestionably biased by his purpose.

Remember—Marx's intellectual background was German philosophy—he was not empirical and hard-headed in the American sense. He wanted to revolutionize human society and he studied its history with that end in view, and drew up a plan by which this might be accomplished. But, instead of presenting his thoughts in a simple and clear form, as a specific plan for the solution of a specific problem, he started in by deciding in general what the universe is made of and how it operates; and then gradually worked down towards a demonstration that by the very nature of its being and laws of its operation this universe is inevitably going to revolutionize itself and it is going to do this in just the manner outlined in his plan—therefore, as intelligent parts of a universe of such a kind it behooves us to get to work toward bringing about or aiding the development.

In other words—he attributed his plan for changing the world to the world itself. (essentially a religious idea).

II. So much by way of introduction:—we, will first consider, in more detail,

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Marx's system of philosophy, which was not original with him, except in the fact that it combined certain already existing ideas in a new manner in conjunction with Marx's own purposes. Marx wrote about philosophy—"The philosophers hitherto have only interpreted the world in various ways; the thing is, however, to change it".

This system of philosophy has three essential elements, a metaphysics, a method, and an interpretation of historical processes.

A. Marxian metaphysics (materialism). Metaphysics is that branch of philosophy which concerns itself with beliefs about reality. You are all aware of the fact that it is (or it was until recently) the function of science to, objectively, establish the differences between appearance and actuality in the physical world (the apparent stability of the earth and its actual motion—for example). However, to philosophers, the question then presents itself—is the physical world itself as final and substantial as it seems—or as science says it is? Is physical reality the only genuine reality? This is the field of metaphysics—to determine the ultimate reality. (For example—are individual men substantially and objectively real, and the term MAN only our expressed way and recognizing that all men are sufficiently alike to be expressed collectively—or is the idea MAN the eternal and ultimate reality, and individual men only more or less accurate copies, reflections, or manifestations of that idea? The same would hold for tree, table, etc.). The history of thought has been very largely governed by the fact that to some thinkers men, as individuals, are the ultimate reality—while to others Man,

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the idea, is the ultimate reality. The former tend to become materialists (or naturalists)—the latter tend to become idealists. There are other viewpoints (for example—dualism, there are two kinds of reality which are eternally divided; or the belief that mind and nature might both be manifestations of some third substance, etc.), but these are the two which may be accepted as primary—at least for our purposes. (since these are the two which the Marxists use).

The Marxist metaphysics is materialist—it claims that:

1. the ultimate reality is not mind, but matter in motion (a process) (although a concept of matter was never clearly defined by Marx).
2. that the material world possesses an adjective existence apart from our perception of it, and
3. that the existence of matter precedes that of mind
4. that since material things do have an objective existence knowledge of them is not impossible to achieve, but merely extremely difficult and complex. In other words, there are gaps in our knowledge of the world and man not because those gaps represent mysteries, but because they have simply not yet been filled in by man's knowledge. They are knowable, however, since, to the Marxist, everything that is real derives ultimately from nature, which is knowable to man.

Since the concept of ultimate mystery is denied—the materialists logically reject the concepts of religion, a universal will, the Absolute idea—and other idealistic concepts which are not based upon anything material

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and are not knowable to man.

Materialism was not, of course, something original with Marx—and he was influenced by previous materialist philosophers, notably those of the 18th century French school—of which Holbach is probably the chief representative. Holbach and his group took the Newtonian view of the world, which viewed it as a mechanism or a machine which had originally been motivated by God but in the functioning of which God no longer played a part—and they denied the existence or necessity of God, and viewed the world in purely mechanistic, atheistic terms—as an eternal machine which was governed by the eternal laws of nature. This was mechanistic materialism—a static, stereotyped system, which failed to allow for the possibility of development or change. Marx accepted the materialism, but since he was a revolutionary who sought change—he put aside the mechanistic aspect of this philosophy in favor of something more dynamic—and to him scientific. This led him to decide that in spite of the importance of the materialist basis of reality—there was such a thing as conscious activity—that men, in addition to being mere incidents in a mechanical process were capable of acting upon that process—that knowledge and action were bound together. "Freedom of thought is the recognition of necessity." Necessity—material conditions, laws etc. This decision led Marx to the adoption of a new thought method—this method was Hegel's dialectic—and from the union of the materialist metaphysics and the dialectic, Marx arrived at dialectic or scientific materialism.

- B. The dialectic: It should be pointed out at the beginning that Hegel, in contrast to Marx, was an idealist, and that Marx borrowed, primarily,

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his method—not his metaphysics. Hegel decided that the ultimate reality was the "absolute idea" and that man's thought and all historical processes were a series of conflicts pushing man upward closer to the "absolute idea". In contrast to that of the machinists, Hegel's thought-method was dynamic or evolutionary. He thought of everything in terms of process rather than of mere static experience. Instead of saying, "This is" or "that is not"; he said, "This is ceasing to be what it was and becoming what it was not". The formalized process through which this theory worked itself out was called the dialectic, and although it had existed since 500 B.C., it was neglected and came as a rather startling novelty to 19th century Europe.

Dialectic was an old word in philosophy. It was used to describe the method of argument favored by Socrates, a technique of arriving at truth by reconciling two opposing statements. For example, I make a statement concerning the nature of man. You make an opposing one. Then we try to reconcile our statements and distill a better definition out of our conflicting concepts. As a form of logical argument, the dialectic was, and still is, useful. But Hegel made of it something much more significant than a mere method of argumentation. According to Hegel, this dialectic is a process by means of which all history proceeds in realizing the plan of the "divine idea". The very essence of history is dialectic; it progresses only through a series of conflicts and clashes resulting from the unfolding of logical ideas.

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And we must remember—at this point—that Hegel was an idealist. His dialectical process was leading toward a closer relationship on earth, with the "absolute idea". You may call it "dialectical idealism" if you like semantics. Hegel, in conformity with his idealism, determined that the State was the revelation of the Absolute Idea on earth, and that the individual must identify his own "will" with the "will" of the State—enabling himself thereby to overcome more opposition and to approach nearer to the Absolute Idea.

The dialectic is more formalized than I have thus far indicated, at least, in its terminology. The terms: 1. Thesis 2. Antithesis, and 3. Synthesis are used to describe the dialectic process. Each stage in the realization of the plan of the Absolute Idea presents a "thesis". However, every thesis brings with it like a shadow, its negative, which is called its "antithesis". Out of the ensuing conflict between these two a "synthesis" arises, and this, in its turn, becomes a new "thesis" for a new conflict—and so on—each step approaching nearer to the Absolute. (For Hegel's followers approaching nearer to the dominance of Prussia—as most representative of the Absolute Idea on earth—for Marx—approaching nearer Communism). Thus there is a social evolution proceeding from lower to higher stages by the interaction of causally related opposites. The triangular process is continuous and pervades every institution whether it is recognized or not, and whether it be reality itself, or human thought about reality.

In addition to this terminology there are laws of the dialectic—

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which, for our purposes may be limited to the three most fundamental: the laws of 1. the unity of opposites 2. the transformation of quantity into quality, and 3. the negation of the negation.

A. The laws of the Dialectic (not approached as a priori truths but as laws which are grounded on objective scientific evidence).

1. Unity of opposites (Lenin - the salt of the dialectic).

Each unity contains within itself polar opposites--like positive and negative poles of the electron. These opposites within a unity are interdependent and interacting. These interacting elements (in an idea or in the physical world) constitute a logical unity so long as that particular combination and pattern are relevant to and consistent with the rest of the universe.

To translate this idea into sociological terms, Marxists tell us that in capitalist society the bourgeoisie and proletariat are polar opposites, like the two poles of the electron. The unity (capitalist society) cannot exist without both of them and the society will exist as long as the balance between the two remains. But this interdependency between the two opposites cannot continue to exist, for the dynamic interaction between the two forces gives the capitalist society the character of a constantly changing unity and this existing contradiction within capitalism will lead to socialism, a higher stage of development than capitalism.

To the Marxist this law proves that we live in a universe of change. By laying down the precept that there are opposing forces in a unity, **CONFIDENTIAL** change and by guaranteeing

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change the law guarantees history. The change is necessarily upward.

2. The transformation of quantity into quality.

This law points out that history cannot be merely a mechanical accumulation of quantitative changes. Change does take place thru imperceptible mutations but only until a thing cannot vary while remaining the same. (Water to steam or ice, or the fact that an acorn is not a miniature oak tree.) Thus, humanity is not affected by the gradual process of growth but by sudden jumps. Marxists call these jumps revolutions. (The monopoly imperialist stage of capitalism must jump to socialism.) These sudden jumps must be emphasized, for it is this way only that new qualities are produced. Changes without these leaps would be quantitative and not qualitative. Hence, one should be a revolutionary, not a reformer.

We have had these leaps in the past which have resulted in qualitative changes in our society, for the society of today is not merely a larger tribal community than that which existed in primitive times.

3. Negation of the Negation.

The synthesis negates the conflict between thesis and anti thesis and is thus the negation of the negation, i.e., the new qualitative state is the negation of the old one.

To think dialectically is to realize that the important thing about the subject matter is not the state it appears to be in at the moment but the direction and rate of change taking place in it.

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**Example:**

To champion laissez faire economy in the 18th Century was radical, revolutionary. It was opposed to established privilege and came from the left.

Today it comes from the right and is a guarantee of established privilege.

It would be correct reasoning to say that laissez faire was radical (A is A) and since it was so in the 18th Century by formal logic A is still A but we know that it isn't since we live in a universe of change. If the universe were static this would be correct reasoning.

- C. Dialectic Materialism. We have examined two aspects of Marxist thought, materialism and the dialectic. Marx, of course, combined the two elements in the formulation of dialectic materialism, which means that he took the materialist interpretation of world forces (that the developments of history are determined by knowable forces) and applied the dialectical process to it, in a combination which is represented as the only true, scientific explanation of reality, i.e., material forces working themselves out in human history by a process of conflict and change. (Matter in motion is explained.) Engels - "Dialectics reduced itself to the science of the general laws of matter in motion. It is impossible to transcend the natural process, there are the general laws of motion and development, and that is all. Human nature has no reality apart from this natural process, it is part and parcel of it."

This term taken by itself, even with an understanding of both materialism and the dialectic, has very little meaning unless it is given a con-

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a concept from another philosopher, Ludwig Feuerbach. Feuerbach called himself a materialist, and debunked the concept, put forth by Hegel, that if we seek the real origins of man we would find an eternal "absolute idea." What we would find, wrote Feuerbach, would be the basic social needs of society. Marx seized upon this particular concept. Feuerbach stated specifically that the starting point of any inquiry should be concerned with man's needs for Production, Reproduction, and Communications. Marx eliminated the second and third, and chose the first, Production, as being the most important, and proceeded to put his whole doctrine of history in terms of man's answer to the challenge of meeting adequately his needs for producing the essentials of his life, shelter, food, and at a latter stage, goods of all kinds.

In this manner he gave his doctrine of dialectic materialism a context, man's history, materialist because man's basic physical needs precede his ideas, dialectical because man's history can be traced in a series of conflicts revolving around the need for production. This results in what is called:

- D. Historical materialism (or if you wish, "historical dialectic materialism"), another important aspect of the Marxian philosophical system.
- E. Historical Materialism (Materialist interpretation of history).
  - 1. This is dialectical materialism applied to the particular field of human relations within society.

Marx says that the common end which all men pursue is the production of the means to support life and next to that the exchange of things produced.

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Marx--"I was led by my studies to the conclusion that legal relations and the forms of the state could neither be understood by themselves nor be explained by what was called the general progress of the human mind, but were rooted in the material conditions of life. . . . Men, in the social production which they carry on, enter into definite relations which are indispensable and independent of their wills; and these relations correspond to a definite stage in the development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society--the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness."

Therefore, the basic conflicts of the dialectical process in human society operate in terms of changing productive forces which place men in certain relations with other men (production relations.)

i.e.,--the way in which men earn their livelihood is fundamental to every thing else. Political and legal conventions are reared upon it, and upon these all the rest of men's actions and ideas. The method of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.

When these productive forces change, production relations change.

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implements.

Production relations (between man and man) in turn determine man's society which develops as a result of the basic productive forces being employed at a particular time in history. Marx gives us the historical periods, and points out that in each stage the system of economic production has become outmoded and production relations have become intolerable.

According to the Marxist interpretation society is regarded as a dynamic process undergoing constant change, continuously experiencing the growth, development and decline of its forces.

Thus, the process is a cause and effect relationship -so that each phase of history in a society contains the principal elements of the preceding phase and in turn furnishes the soil out of which the succeeding phase will grow.

Each stage is an advancement on the other, according to the dialectic.

Engels: "Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history. . . the simple fact hitherto concealed by ideology that mankind must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, religion, science, art, etc.

The economic system of society is the substructure. The religion, ethics, laws, and institutions are the superstructure, built upon and determined by the substructure.

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Thus, social development is not affected because of the emergence of new rational principles or a new concept of truth and justice, since these belong to the superstructure. What makes them acceptable is that changes in the productive forces have created the environment which makes them seem the natural expression of what men have come to desire.

Engels--"The final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the mode of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy but in the economies of each particular epoch."

Marx does not deny the importance of the role of the superstructure, but says that it is always the expression of the dominant class interest.

F. The Class struggle. (Borrowed from French historians, Guizot and Thierry.)

1. From historical materialism Marx derived the theory of the class struggle.

- a. In society relations of production have been relations of exploitation which have always divided it into classes. These classes will ultimately fall into two hostile camps--the exploiters and the exploited. The conflict between the two will produce progress thru the dialectic.
- b. Though Marx never defined class, the antithesis class must possess certain characteristics.

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- (1) Economically exploited
- (2) Politically oppressed and
- (3) Welded together by the condition of its existence.
- (4) Must constitute the mass of the population.

c. This class struggle must inevitably lead to the abolition of all classes and the establishment of a classless society.

This, in its barest essentials, constitutes the Marxist system of philosophy, composed of a metaphysics (materialism), method or process (the dialectic), a combination of the two (dialectical or scientific materialism), and an application of dialectical materialism to man's history (historical materialism).

#### Critique of Philosophy:

1. Nature and Society do display conflicts, but this cannot be the sole law of development.
2. The exclusive emphasis given by Marx's followers to economics has failed to recognize importance of religion, politics, individuals, etc. (although Marx did). History has not been motivated by one single force.
3. The class struggle, although a valid analysis, is not the exclusive focus of man's social history, and furthermore, relations have not always been relations of exploitation. Class struggle is a fact, but not a valid basis for a complete theory.
4. Belief in class struggle as "inner essence" of history makes them attribute to whole working class attitudes which, in fact, are confined to a small group of revolutionaries.

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5. Ultimate conflict is more possibly the individual US Society or groups US Society etc.—not class US. Class., and this cannot be dialectically resolved.
6. Productive forces are changed by application of man's intelligence, not automatically through the dialectic.
7. There is a single assumed causation motivating history towards progress, which cannot be proved. (Heine) Empirically—although it is called Scientific (theological). Heine—There is no necessity which bridges causation.
8. It was the dialectic to prove a moral—not a scientific necessity. This is a mystical or religious concept. And it is dogmatic on the belief in this necessity. (Moral necessity—replaced capitalism with socialized industry).
9. The economic interpretation of history does not need the elaborate framework of the dialectic to prove it. Most historians now accept it (although not one explanation of how it works).
10. He states that matter is the true reality and then proceeds to endow that matter with purpose—an unadmitted theology because he doesn't admit any purpose except a blind necessity.

III. Our next consideration is the Marxist economic theory which, if anything, in all its ramifications, is more involved than his philosophy. Its well to remember at the outset, however, that the Marxian economics is again based upon Marx's motivation and purpose (a revolutionary class struggle), and that it is primarily a critique of capitalistic society, and an attempt to arrive at a so-called scientific explanation of the exploitation

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of the class which he had chosen to represent. This, plus the attempt to prove again scientifically, that the bourgeoisie class, which was cheating labor out of the value which it had created, was operating in such a manner that it would eventually destroy the capitalist system and itself.

The Marxist economic system is composed primarily of three elements:

1. The labor theory of value (which was not original with Marx)
2. The theory of surplus value, and
3. Certain deductions resulting from the theory of surplus value.

According to Engels, Marx's two greatest contributions were historical materialism and the theory of surplus value.

There are, however, certain premises which come first.

We have noted that Marx, in his philosophy, had determined that the key to Social Change is to be found in changes in the mode of production.

This means, that in his economics, he was committed to a study of the economic system (or "political economy" as it is usually called) from the viewpoint of discovering or formulating the laws governing changes in the mode of production. He stated his scientific goal as follows:

To lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society." He had further determined that this motion resulted from a series of historical conflicts between classes. He began the "Communist Manifesto" with a famous statement—"The History of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". Therefore, it follows that the essential economic factors are those which underlie and express themselves in the form of class conflict.

A statement which Marx made in his Critique of Political Economy is also

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significant in any introduction to his economics. He wrote, "Capital is the all dominating economic power in bourgeois society." This indicated, to Marx, that the primary economic relation is that between capitalist and workers—as he expressed it—"The relation between wage labor and capital determines the entire character of the mode of production." The task of the economic investigation then boils down to the reduction of the capital—labor relation to its most significant factors.

In brief—any survey of Marxian economics must begin with the recognition of four elements (1) Changes in the mode of production are basic. (2) These changes are brought by class struggle. (3) In bourgeois society capital is the dominant ec. power—thus determining that (4) In capitalist society the capital—labor struggle is the essential element.

What, then, is the nature of this capital-labor relation. (The capitalist buys labor-power from the worker; the worker received in turn money from the capitalist with which he acquires the necessities of life) On this subject Marx wrote, "Every commodity has a two-fold aspect, that of use value, and that of exchange value." However, he felt that use value represented only a relationship between the consumer, the object consumed, and therefore was not significant, for economics is a social science of the relations between people. On the other hand, he felt that in possessing exchange value relative to one another commodities showed their unique characteristic. At first glance it might seem that here is even less of a social relation than in use value, a relation between only things. Marx's answer to this problem is the key to his theory of value. The relation between things, which we call exchange value—the value of one

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commodity as expressed in terms of another—and exchanged in accordance with the relative amount of labor required to produce each, is in reality only an outward form of the social relation between the commodity owners. The exchange of commodities is in reality only an exchange of the results of the labor of the producers of those commodities. This analysis of the social characteristics of commodities and commodity production led Marx to identify labor as the substance of value (exchange value)—and to adopt from the classical economists (Ricardo) the 1st element of his economic theory—the labor theory of value.

Ricardo had tentatively stated that—"The value of a commodity depends upon the number of labor hours necessary for its production," but had ringed this doctrine with all sorts of qualifications. Ricardo had also stated that the value of labor itself (a commodity) depended upon the cost of subsistence of labor (Iron Law of Wages). Finally Ricardo had recognized the existence of a legitimate profit—"The difference between the price of the amount produced by a given quantity of labor—and the wages of that labor—determines profit" (no concept of having all the value produced by labor returned to labor—no moral necessity).

Marx took over this theory from Ricardo, discarded its tentative character and made it absolute. In order to do that, however, he made certain changes. It had been taught that prices were determined by the value of commodity measured in terms of the number of labor hours required to produce it. However, employers were able to make agreements with employees which were not determined by the number of hours they worked, thus indicating that the price of labor (a commodity) was not determined in the same way as

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other commodities. But—if the theory that labor hours was the sole cause of value did not apply to labor, might it not be that it did not apply to other prices too. Marx came to the rescue by pointing out that the capitalist was paying for labor power, not labor hours, and that the value of labor power is the average number of labor hours necessary to produce the subsistence required to support life. Labor Power—"the labor of all individuals consciously applied as one single social labor power."

The labor time put into the production of the value which the worker receives as this means of subsistence is called "socially necessary labor."

In order to resolve the inconsistencies resulting from the existence of skilled and unskilled, and different capabilities, Marx indicated that he was referring to "simple average labor"—a category to which all types are reducible. This may be arrived at how?—through experience!

Thus—"the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of labor-power embodied in it."

In order to understand what Marx was attempting to do here, we must divest ourselves of the tendency to regard value and price as being synonymous. The Marxist theory of value is not an account of how market prices are determined (except in the ideal situation). Marx was more concerned with "what ought to be" rather than "what is". This theory is, in a sense, an abstraction (to be used for his purposes) and should be recognized as such. A distinction is made between the value which is determined by the quantity of labor power embodied in a commodity, and the price at which it is actually exchanged. What Marx calls exchange value is the abstraction and is not synonymous with actual price.

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The theory of value of Marx (volume I of Das Kap only) is concerned with what man ought to get for his labor—it thinks of value in terms of worth. It always has in mind an organization of society in which a commodity would fetch what it was worth (it being worth the amount of socially necessary labor power embodied in it). What Marx calls exchange value is what a commodity would fetch in an ideally organized society. (actually—a commodity is worth what it will fetch—in terms of demand).

One of Marx's interpreters (Croce) stated that "Marx was knowingly describing a world that did not exist in order to cast light on one that did". (Marx—however—did not say this).

(Point out conflict between volumes I & III of Das Kap. Volume III extends a Cost of Production theory of value in conflict with Volume I. Never resolved, although recognized by Marxists).

On the basis of this abstraction, the labor theory of value, Marx turned out the second element of his economic theory—the theory of surplus value (much more significant than labor theory of value). This again was not new, he merely took what Riccardo labelled legitimate profit—changed its name to surplus value and said that instead of being legitimate it was being stolen from the workers.

Some review might again be of value in this connection, a review of the difference between simple commodity production and capitalist production as Marx visualized it.

Under simple commodity production each producer owns and works with his own means of production. Under capitalism ownership of the means of production is vested in one set of individuals while the work is performed

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by another. This produces—in simple commodity production—only a relation between owner and owner, but in capitalism, a relation between owner and non-owner. In other words, the buying and selling of labor power is characteristic only of capitalism. Marx stated:

"The historical conditions of capitalism's existence are by no means given with the mere circulation of money and commodities. It can spring into life only when the owner of the means of production and subsistence meets in the market with the free laborer selling his labor power. This one historical condition comprises a world's history. Capital, therefore, announces from its first appearance a new epoch in the process of social production." In simple commodity production the formula is: Commodities—Money—Commodities, (of a different kind). (C-M-C) and this makes sense because it answers a specific need. In capitalism the formula is M-C-M, and it is pointless unless it becomes M-C-M' and M' is greater than M. (A quantitative exchange value is substituted for a qualitative use value). The capitalist has reason for laying out money for labor power—means of production only if he can, thereby, acquire a larger amount of money. This increment of money—the difference between M & M' is what Marx calls surplus value—constituting the income of the capitalist.

This analysis has important implications for Marxists. The capitalist comes into the market with money and buys machinery, materials, and labor power. He then combines these in a process of production which results in a mass of commodities being again placed on the market. At the end (even though he buys and sells the commodities at their equilibrium value) he has more money than he started with. Somewhere surplus value has been created—

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but where? The value which the machinery and materials transfer to the commodity is the same at the end as it was before the transfer. There is no reason to assume that either materials or machinery can transfer more value to the product than they themselves contain. This leaves only one possibility—namely—that labor power must be the source of surplus value, for the following reason. In a day's work, the laborer produces more than a day's means of subsistence. Consequently, the working day can be divided into two parts socially, necessary labor and surplus labor. The product of necessary labor accrues to the laborer in the form of wages—while the product of surplus labor is appropriated by the capitalist in the form of surplus value. What is specific to the capitalist society is not the fact of exploitation of one part of the population by another, but the form which this exploitation assumes—namely the production of surplus value.

Another way of stating it: There is a difference between the use-value of labor and its exchange value; its use-value consists of the value of the products which it produces, but its exchange value depends solely upon the cost of the food, clothing, and shelter necessary for physical survival. The Capitalist—says Marx—pays only for the exchange value of labor capacity, but aims at obtaining its use value. The difference between the exchange value of labor and its use-value is surplus value.

This analysis leads to further elements of the theory of surplus value: Capitalist profit varies in direct proportion to the amount of time the laborer is forced to work beyond the time required to earn the subsistence wages he is paid for his labor power (Theory of Exploitation).

1. Moral principle of Marx here is that man is robbed if he does not receive the full value of his labor.

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Capitalist has control over the means of production, which are:

1. Constant capital - raw materials, land, Machinery, Stored up labor.
2. Variable capital - labor power.

The Amount of profit will depend on the proportion of labor to machinery employed in a given undertaking. The more labor and less machinery--the greater will be the profit--(which is obviously false but Marx never resolved it).

**III. From the Theory of Surplus Value Marx Deduces Three Laws.**

**A. The Law of Capitalist Accumulation.**

Because of constant technological advances and competition with fellow capitalists, the capitalist is forced to install more and more labor-saving machinery in his factory in order to produce more goods. This is a hindrance because any increase in the proportion of constant to variable capital will result in decreased profits.

**B. The Law of the Concentration of Capital.**

The number of capitalists will contract as the weaker are driven from the field. "One capitalist kills many."

Thus, capitalism inevitably leads to monopoly in the form of trusts and cartels, since these alone are strong enough to withstand the recurring economic crises.

**C. The Law of Increasing Misery.**

As a result the misery of the workers will continually increase. Do not blame the capitalists, for he is forced by competition to increase his exploitation of the laborer by extorting more and more hours of unpaid labor from him.

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**D. The increase in machinery results in the growth of the industrial reserve army. This allows the capitalist to force down wages to compensate for his loss of profit. But, without wages the laborer cannot buy the capitalist goods; so the capitalist is forced to produce cheaper goods. To do this he must use more machinery and have larger factories, forcing more workers into the ranks of the unemployed and thus reducing their purchasing power. This gives rise to--**

**E. The theory of underconsumption or overproduction, which demonstrates the inherent contradiction in the capitalist system which will lead to its inevitable collapse. This collapse is fostered by the revolt of the increasingly miserable proletariat.**

**F. According to Marx, this collapse should have occurred toward the end of the 19th Century. However, the lot of the laborer has improved instead of getting worse and the capitalist system is stronger than ever.**

#### **IV. Theory of Imperialist Capitalism--Lenin.**

Since Marx's predictions did not come true, Lenin transferred Marxism from the national to the international level and produced the following elaboration of Marx's theory:

Since the development of the capitalist system in any one country gradually eliminates profits, capitalists seek outlets in countries in which there is labor still to be exploited and additional markets to compensate for the inadequacy of domestic markets. The imperialistic stage of capitalism leads to the inevitable clash of rival imperialists

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(i.e., capitalist classes in different countries), and the eventual downfall of capitalism because of its international contradictions. Thus the theory is saved by extending it to take into consideration the economic developments of the latter part of the 19th century.

Critique of Economic Theory:

1. Labor theory of value not acceptable—cannot be proved—they resort to generalities. It is a theory of exploitation—not a theory of value (conflict even in Marx, between Volume I and Volume III).
2. Theory of surplus value challengeable—since again it cannot be proved—and they refer to generalities (Engels).
3. Law of Diminishing profit is statistically disproved.
4. Misery of proletariat has not increased.
5. He was right in claiming that labor was not receiving a fair share—but there are many other solutions than revolution.
6. Again, it is not scientific, it is a moral judgment—a judgment that it is immoral to treat labor as a commodity.
7. Application of its criticism of capitalism leads not to social society with equality, justice, etc., but to a totalitarian state economy (Hilferding)—who gave Lenin imperialism.
8. He is the last of the "classicists"—since he, too, like Malthus sees the misery of the working class—under capitalism, as being inevitable.
9. Value is a price we set upon things when they satisfy our wants—it cannot be reduced to any common measure.

The third element in Marx's system is his theory of the state and revolution, or if you will **CONFIDENTIAL** Marx's social ideas reflect—

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and were designed to reflect a social change of the greatest importance—the rise to consciousness and finally, to political power, of the industrial working class. We have already noted that Marx presented capitalism in what might be called its social aspects—as an institution that had produced and was continually enlarging a class of exploited men—the industrial proletariat. The rise of such an industrial proletariat, Marx regarded as potentially the most revolutionary fact in modern history. Starting from the admitted fact of divergent class interests he set himself to interpret the concept of the state (democracy in capitalism) as an ideology peculiar to the bourgeoisie and to create a politics suitable for the use of the rising proletariat in the struggle for power. He combined an explanation of political development with a plan for the proletariat's taking part in that development (again the activist principle of the interconnection of theory and practice). Marx conceived that history would culminate in the rise of the proletariat—and looked forward to the advance of that class to a dominant place in modern society—both economic and political (although, of course, the end product was a classless society dominated by no one).

From his analysis of mid 19th century society, and motivated by his desire to advance the proletariat—Marx brought forth a theory of the state and revolution which contained the following elements:

1. A definition of the State—which claims that the state is nothing more than a machine—created for the oppression of one class by another, in the case of capitalist society it is bourgeois democracy, which permits the bourgeoisie to exploit the proletariat. Engels further indicates that the state is not a natural institution and arises only

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when society is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to overcome. (Quote Kelsen) Page 11, 12, 13.

"The state is therefore by no means a power imposed on society from without; just as little is it 'the reality of the moral idea, the image and reality of reason,' as Hegel maintains. Rather it is a product of society at a particular stage of development; it is the admission that this society has involved itself in insoluble self-contradiction and is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to exercise. In order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, shall not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, a power, apparently standing above society, has become necessary to moderate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power, arisen out of society, but placing itself above it and increasingly alienating itself from it, is the state . . . As the state arose from the need to keep class antagonism in check, it also arose in the thick of the fight between the classes, it is normally the state of the most powerful economically ruling class, which by its means becomes also the politically ruling class, and so acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class."

Historical explanation by Engels in "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State:"

"The state, therefore, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies which have managed without it, which had no notion of the state or state power. At a definite stage of economic development, which necessarily involved the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity because of this cleavage. We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes

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has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state inevitably falls with them. The society which organizes production anew on the basis of free and equal association of the producers will put the whole state machinery where it will then belong--into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze ax."

Marx describes the state as one manifestation of the superstructure representing the class which owns the means of production. Since this superstructure is the result of the substructure or productive forces of society, when the productive forces change the superstructure will change. However, the state, which is a part of the superstructure, will try to prevent this change, for it is to the interest of the dominant class to maintain the status quo.

Capitalist society has produced bourgeois democracy. This cannot endure because of its contradictions, i.e., it produces two antagonistic classes. This will not be so in a proletarian democracy, which will gradually establish a classless society in which there will be no state, but merely an administration.

Therefore, the proletariat should not be fooled by appeals to morality, truth, justice, etc., for these are only bourgeois terms which have developed as a result of the capitalist system.

#### Necessity for Revolutionary Action.

In order to arrive at Communism it will be necessary to overthrow the bourgeois state by violence, because the state will try to maintain itself by every means at its command. Fascism in Germany - the last aspect of capitalism, the ultimate desperate stage.

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Even though communism is inevitable, the revolution is considered to be the mid-wife of the communist stage of society. This proletarian revolution is right because it does not lead to another class society but to a classless society. It is the intelligence use of force.

Marx considered the proletariat to be the class to carry out the revolution because it was the exploited class under the capitalist system, and, therefore, fulfilled the role of the antithesis in the dialectical process of human development.

Theory of Dictatorship of the Proletariat (Proletariat Democracy)

The state is a coercive organization for the purpose of maintaining the suppression of one class by another. By the revolutionary establishment of socialism, that is—by the abolition of private property in, and the socialization of, the means of production—the system of capitalism, and with it—the state as a social institution will disappear. The state will "with away." The Socialist Society of the future will be a stateless society, a society the order of which will be maintained without the use of force. This will be possible since the social order will naturally be in the interests of everybody, so that nobody will be tempted to violate the order. But this ideal condition of mankind cannot be established immediately after the socialist revolution has abolished capitalism. Between the capitalist state and the Communist stateless society there will be an intermediate stage—the dictatorship of the proletariat—which is the immediate result of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat will be a state with a true government and will differ from the capitalist state only so far as the purpose of this coercive machinery will not be to maintain—but rather to destroy the exploitation of one class by another.

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The proletariat must consolidate the revolution and establish a dictatorship against counter-revolution. It must eradicate all bourgeois influence, for only in that way can it establish a classless society. It is, however, still a state, whose essence is force.

During this first stage after the successful revolution, the proletariat will set up socialist society (lower phase of Communism)—where all of the means of production are owned by the workers.

However, this will still be partly bourgeois, because of the system in which men would be paid—not according to need—but according to amount of work performed. (a bourgeois concept).

Thus, differences in wealth still exist, but we are told they will not lead to exploitation, because the means of production will be owned by the state and not by individuals.

Thus—EXPLOITATION disappears by definition.

This proletarian society will be superior to bourgeois democracy, because the stress will be put upon fundamental economic aspects rather than upon superficial political concerns.

Something more should be indicated as to the nature of this proletarian democracy. The very use of the term democracy indicates that during this dictatorship of the proletariat the Marxists are thinking in terms of a state (since democracy is one of the forms which a state may assume). The writing of Marx and Engels give a reasonably clear idea as to the form of government to be established in the proletarian state. The Manifesto states "The first step in the revolution by the working class is the raising of the proletariat to the position of ruling class and to establish democracy."—and Engels wrote, "If anything is certain it is that our party and the working class can only come to power under the form of the democratic

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republic. This is, indeed, the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as has already been shown by the great French Revolution."

There is no evident reason to assume that the suggestions of Marx and Engels that the proletarian state be organized as a democracy must be interpreted to mean that the concept of democracy as established in the proletarian state is different from the concept of democracy as established in the capitalist state. The concept of democracy as used by Marx and Engels is the traditional one according to which a state is a democracy if it fulfills certain requirements of political freedom in a <sup>positive sense,</sup> direct or indirect participation of all citizens in government. Nothing in their writing supports the assumption that the democracy which they expected to be established by the dictatorship of the proletariat would be compatible with dictatorship of one political party. Marx took it for granted that the proletariat—at the moment of the revolution—would form overwhelming majority of the people and would be united by a class consciousness strong enough to make undisputed leadership by a single socialist party possible. The only difference between the democracy of the two states would be that the constitution of the proletarian state would be more democratic than that of the capitalist state.

Theory of withering away of the State.

"The proletariat seizes state power, and then transforms the means of production into state property. But in doing this, it puts an end to itself as the proletariat, it puts an end to all class differences and class antagonisms, it puts an end also to the state as the state. Former society, moving in class antagonism, had need of the state, that is an organization

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of the exploiting class at each period for the maintenance of its external conditions of production . . . As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary. The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole—the seizure of the means of production in the name of society—is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of a state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then becomes dormant of itself. Government over persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production. State is only destroyed by definition not in fact. The state is not "abolished," it withers away.

Thus, when the proletariat has established a classless society, the state will also disappear, since it will no longer be needed.

When this occurs, society will have arrived at Communism.

1. From each according to his ability—to each—his needs.
2. Complete freedom and equality for all.

#### Critique of Politics:

1. Final goal of "Communism" is a hazy-distant Utopia—left to imagination.
2. Nothing tangible on the institutions or mechanisms of Communist Society—or its control over society. How is division of labor to be eliminated.

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3. Dialectic process (which is inevitable) ceases to operate (because—as Holdane points out, they recognize the evils brought by the necessity and are going to eliminate them. A successful struggle against economic fatalism.
4. Assumes a class consciousness which is non-existent. (Lenin points it out)—thus making necessary a revolutionary group to motivate it—leading to totalitarian dictatorship.
5. No recognition of other means of changing conditions—through reform instead of revolution.
6. Neglects positive functions of state which have operated for general good—in spite of class concentrates on easily proved coercive function for interest.
7. Rejects any absolute moral standards in the interest of a narrow class morality—which leads to the concept that:
8. The end justifies the means—leads to complete ruthlessness—by which any of their activities—of any kind—can be explained and justified, and leads (like economics) to totalitarian dictatorship.
9. Exploitation and the state are both only destroyed by definition—through an acceptance on faith of the system.

The whole theory adds up a secular religion, which provides a complete explanation of reality and gives life a sense of purpose. It is forced, finally, like religion, to appeal to many propositions which have to be accepted on faith—from which—once accepted, whatever else is desired can logically be proved. But, while religion accepts it (and puts forth dogmas

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of faith), Marxism claims that its dogmas are guaranteed by science, which is irresistible to any properly instructed mind. Thus—it presents a warped scale of values and becomes—you might say, a tribal religion instead of a universal faith.

**Max Flessner:**

The attempt to create a religion of Marxism will fail—and it will fail because it represents an attempt to religionize a theory. No theory can be converted into a religion—and Marxism is essentially a theory of social evolution based upon certain fixed postulates. You can no more make a religion of Marxism than you can turn the equations of Euclid into poetry.\*

Marx, is said to have once said of himself that he was not a Marxist. This remark perhaps signifies not only his own personal indifference to doctrinal completeness—it is also indicative of the possibility of a variety of social conclusions—both theoretical and practical—that grew (more or less) from his teachings.

Even though his theories became the intellectual organ of party-socialism, Marxism was never reduced to formulas that were universally accepted, even to those within the Socialist parties. In addition, there were many groups outside of the Parties who claimed to be Marxian—in one way or another—although they differed tremendously from each other. In this sense Marxism was not so much a philosophy as an intellectual (or an ethical) stimulation or ferment—and quite apart from both party movements and from generalized philosophical conclusions, his principal ideas, that social institutions and political movements are intimately related to

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underlying economic forces, have proved to be widely suggestive. They have been used by many non-Marxists—in the field of scholarship. They have posed a problem rather than a solution—for, although it is clearly seen that material and economic forces do exert a great influence upon men's ideas and institutions, knowledge of the mechanism of this action, contrary to Marxist belief, does not yet objectively exist.

More and more the characteristic form still called Marxism is that developed by Lenin, and made evident by the success of the Communist revolution in Russia (although neither Marx nor European Social-Democratic leaders would recognize Russian developments as being in any way typical or characteristic of Marxism).

Lenin's Marxism was to the last degree orthodox and dogmatic. Lenin professed almost a reverence for theory an indispensable part of any revolutionary movement. However, he conceived of theory as a guide to action, not as a body of statically true doctrine, a mass of suggestive ideas to be recognized and picked out for use in a concrete situation. On this basis, although he constantly professed orthodoxy, Lenin was responsible for the most considerable changes that any follower ever made in Marxist theory. And, since for present day Marxists the doctrines of Lenin seem sometimes to have even more significance than those of Marx himself, it would be appropriate, I think, to sketch briefly some of the changes which he made, with the recognition that it is frequently difficult to tell what was a valid application of principle, what was a legitimate recognition of new facts, and what was sheer opportunism. Opportunism, in respect to Marxian theory was the theme of Lenin's constant and bitter denunciation, yet he himself may have been the greatest sinner in that connection.

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Stalin has written (in Leninism) that there are three interpretations of Lenin's relation to Marxism—all partially correct:

1. He reverted from the final form of Marxism, less revolutionary, (Das Kapital) back to the earlier revolutionary pamphlets, (Manifesto).
2. He adapted Marxism to the peculiar state of affairs in Russia (but he did believe in internationalism).
3. He brought Marx's work up to date—taking account of the further evaluation of capitalist society and reformulating the theory and tactics of Marxism in the latest or imperialist stage of the capitalist system—in the light of developments of which Marx saw only the beginning. In other words, he was the perfecter of Marxism. This may be closest to the truth. Certainly it is the point of view which Lenin would have chosen concerning his own contribution.

What were some of his major contributions to a perfection or reformation of Marx's:

1. He developed the concept of a limited, rigidly disciplined party of trained revolutionaries to motivate and lead the proletarian revolution. (to lead the less class-conscious, but potentially revolutionary masses). His opponents objected that this concept was a denial of the Marxian principle that the relations of production in capitalism form the proletarian class and its revolutionary ideology. They argued that a revolutionary movement must arise spontaneously—it cannot be "made"—since it cannot run ahead of underlying economic conditions. This sounds like Marxism, but Lenin denied

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it and indicated, in turn—that spontaneously the workers do not become socialists, but trade-unionists—that socialism has to be brought to them from the outside by middle-class intellectuals.

This concept brought about a number of theoretical conflicts—concerning the relationship in Marxism between the non-voluntary effects of economic conditions, and the voluntary efforts of individuals (vague also in Marx). Question:—if the production-relations of capitalism produce a trade-union neutrality in the proletariat—this then must be the final answer of the proletariat to capitalism. Question—if a Socialist ideology must be produced by a middle-class intelligentsia and introduced to the proletariat from outside, how can one say that material conditions and not ideas are the effective causes of social revolution. And finally, why should capitalist production-relations produce a middle-class intelligentsia favorable to the proletariat. (All the Marxian answers seem to run against Lenin).

Lenin's party concept applied to Russia was realistic enough—but it was doubtful Marxism, since Marx had emphasized the growth of class-consciousness due to production-relations. Lenin's party seems only a vague application of the "activist" principle and an application of Marx's revolutionary desires rather than his formulated theories, since Marx had not even visualized the formation of a separate party.

2. In conjunction with his concept of the party, Lenin also changed the concept of democracy in the proletarian state. Marx had visualized a true majority rule as a further step toward real democracy. Lenin repeatedly denied that the Bolsheviks, before 1917, were for seizure of power by a

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a minority—or for reforms "not ripe in the consciousness of an overwhelming majority." However, these words have to be taken in the light of his theory of the party—which contains no implication of majority-rule as a political institution. He stated flatly, in August 1917, that in politics majority-rule is a "constitutional illusion." A better armed and guided minority must force its will upon the majority." 1920—"Classes are led by parties, and parties are led by individuals who are called leaders. This is the ABC. The will of a class is sometimes fulfilled by a dictator. Soviet Socialist democracy is not in the least incompatible with individual rule and dictatorship....What is necessary is individual rule—the recognition of the dictatorial powers of one man....All phrases about equal rights are nonsense. Occasionally he referred to some of his expedient compromises as "democracy", but they have no apparent relationship to democracy as an institution. When the critical moment came he turned to the Soviets as the "true democracy", but that, again, was an expedient with no relationship to political democracy.

3. Again in connection with Lenin's political concepts, he gave much more substance to the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat which was not clear in either Marx or Engels. He makes clear that when the revolution destroys the capitalist state, what it establishes is not socialism or democracy, but a transitional state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which all the old powers of the state are used to dispossess and hold down the former exploiting class. This new order, organized in the Soviets, is led and directed by the Party, a class-conscious minority who are the natural leaders of the whole working class. This transition period is visualized by Lenin as being several generations of violent struggle and there will be no immediate beginning to the "withering away" of the State as Engels indicated—altho

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4. He dismissed the need—implied throughout Marxist theory, of a bourgeois revolution completed through a proper political and economic development. The concept that a time of preparation must elapse between the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions Lenin relegated to "the archive of Bolshevik pre-revolutionary antiques—in the name of living Marxism." "Whoever questions the "completeness" of the bourgeois revolution from the old viewpoint," he wrote, "sacrifices living Marxism to a dead letter."

Lenin—after March Revolution.

"The present situation in Russia represents a transition from the 1st stage of the revolution (bourgeois)—to the 2nd stage (proletarian)."  
Two governments exist side by side—the Provisional (bourgeois) and the Soviets (proletariat). A revolutionary dictatorship (after Paris Commune).

Nothing in Marxist theory was clearer than the proposition that a revolutionary ideology can be created only by the formation of the proletariat in capitalist industry—that politics depends upon the relations of production. Marx wrote that the final purpose of Das Kapital was to show that "no nation could overleap the natural phases of evolution." Engels had written quantities to show that force can do no more than supplement a revolutionary situation prepared by economic developments.

This concept of Lenin's might merely be an extension of his earlier changes in Marxian theory—that Socialist ideology was a creation of the intelligentsia rather than a spontaneous product of industrial relations, although he had maintained until 1917 that the revolution in Russia was going to be a bourgeois revolution. In 1905 he said a bourgeois revolution led by the proletariat, and resulting in "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." (deviation again)

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Strangely enough, Lenin's materialism is much more deterministic than Marx's—and leads to serious inconsistencies in his thought. According to his philosophy, politics and every form of ideology must be explained ultimately by the economic system—but, at the same time he magnified both the role of the party and of the middle-class intellectual and minimized the spontaneous creation of a socialist ideology in the proletariat. He abandoned the belief that capitalism in a single country runs through normal stages of development, and he squared theory with fact by adding an additional stage to capitalist development.

Obviously, what Lenin's career indicates is not consistency of theory, but insight as a revolutionary leader. The results of his career (particularly from the viewpoint of theory) cannot in any way be logically deduced from dialectical materialism. It proves again that the movement is primarily based upon the logic of faith rather than the logic of science.

**Stalinism—materialism plus nationalism plus partial collectivism plus power politics.**

### STALIN

Stalin, much as Lenin, has been led by circumstances to give a new direction to Marxist theory—and just as Lenin justified his changes by appealing to Marx—so Stalin justifies his changes by appealing to Lenin. (he even gave the title Leninism to his most important volume of writings). The end result, however, has been to transform Marxist-Leninist theory in such a manner that neither Marx nor Lenin would recognize it.

Take just one example—the theory of the State. Both Marx and Lenin had taught that it would still persist during the transition period to the stage of Communism, but they had regarded it as a transitory phenomenon,

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and the primary question had been—how long would it be necessary to endure it before it began withering away, once a true Socialist Society had been established the withering away process would begin.

Stalin pointed out in 1936, in his report on the Constitution of that year, that a Socialist Society had been achieved in the USSR—"the instruments and means of production have been taken from capitalists and transferred to the State; all the exploiting class have been eliminated; and the proletariat has been transformed into the working class of society."

Yet, there can be no doubt that Soviet Russia, although it has ceased to be a dictatorship of the proletariat, has not ceased to be a dictatorship and there are not the slightest symptoms of the State's withering away.

Stalin has changed Marxist-Leninist theory to justify that situation. It is evident, he claims, that Engels in propounding the doctrine of the State's withering away did not take into consideration the international situation of a state which is the only one which has established socialism. With reference to this fact Stalin maintains that "certain of the general propositions in the Marxist doctrine of the State are incompletely worked out and inadequate. They receive currency only because of our unpardonably headless attitude to matters pertaining to the theory of the State—in which we have had 20 years of practical experience—and which gaps in theory we should therefore fill successfully. It is especially Engels' theory of "withering away" which needs further development. This is correct, Stalin indicates, only if: 1. we study the internal development of the USSR only or 2. if we assume that Socialism is already victorious in all countries, neither of

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which we can do, for although socialism has been successful in one state, it must be considered in the context of the international situation, where a capitalist encirclement exists. Therefore, it must retain the repressive state organ and have at its disposal a well-trained army, well-organized primitive organs, and a strong intelligence service, to defend the conquests of Socialism from foreign attack.

This gap in the Marxian theory of the State—the necessity of maintaining the coercive machinery of the state if Socialism is achieved in one state only, was not filled by Lenin (he did not say that the withering away could not apply to one Socialist State)—consequently Stalin had not only to correct Engels, but also Lenin—a most difficult task for a Bolshevik.

Stalin says, "There can be no doubt that Lenin intended to elaborate and develop the theory of the State. Death, however, prevented him from carrying this task into execution. But what Lenin did not manage to do should be done by his disciples."

And thus, under the protection of Lenin's ghost Stalin developed a new theory of the State. (quote from Vishinsky, and add concept of "national" Socialist encirclement) Thus, the ultimate goal of Communism is transferred by Stalin to so distant a future that it hardly becomes worthwhile to examine whether a stateless society is possible.

Stalin's rationalization of the present state in the USSR is a masterpiece of dialectical sophistry.

"We are for the withering away of the State. And yet, we also believe in the proletarian dictatorship which represents the strongest and mightiest form of state power that has existed up until now. To keep on developing State power in order to prepare the conditions for the withering away of state power, that is the Marxist formula. It is contradictory. Yes,

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contradictory. But the contradiction is vital, and wholly reflects the Marxist dialectic.....Whoever has not understood this feature of contradictions belonging to our transitional time, whoever has not understood this dialectic of historical processes—that person is dead to Marxism.

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